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TO AMCONSUL JERUSALEM IMMEDIATE

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TOSEC 104

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: COMBINED REPORT, FEBRUARY 11, EVENING

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS

NO. 8

RADIO

1. ANDERSON - WTOP RADIO GROUP W NEWS WITH THE SECRETARY IN ISRAEL: IN AN ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUES THE ISRAELIS CONDUCTED A TOUR OF THE OCCUPIED SINAI FOR THE NEWSMEN WHO ARE ACCOMPANYING KISSINGER. SEVERAL POINTS WERE VIVIDLY MADE IN THE HELICOPTER TOUR OF THE STRATEGIC OCCUPIED SINAI WHICH IS USUALLY CLOSED TO VISITORS. THE SINAI PENINSULA IS A VAST WASTELAND THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF PRE-1967 ISRAEL. IT HAS PRACTICALLY NO VALUE STRATEGICALLY OR ECONOMICALLY BY ITSELF. ITS VALUE IS OF AN INSULATION AGAINST THE EGYPTIAN FORCE. WITH THE SINAI OCCUPIED, THE EGYPTIANS ARE NO CLOSER THAN 180 MILES TO TEL AVIV. WITH THE SINAI BACK IN EGYPTIAN HANDS, THE EGYPTIANS ARE 36 MILES FROM TEL UNCLASSIFIED

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AVIV. THE STRATEGIC PASSES, BECAUSF THEY OFFER COVER FOR INFANTRY AND ARTILLERY AND ARE WITHIN MISSILE AND AND LONG ARTILLERY RANGE OF THE SUEZ CANAL, ARE SEEN BY THE EGYPTIANS TO BE A CONSTANT THREAT TO NORMAL LIFE AND

COMMERCE IN THE SUEZ CANAL AREA. THERE IS A SHARP

DIVISION WITHIN ISRAELI THINKING ABOUT THESE PASSES.

MILITARILY IT MAKES SENSE TO HANG ON TO THEM; POLITICALLY AND DIPLOMATICALLY IT DOES NOT. THE ROAD TO THE PASSES ARE LITTERED WITH THE RUSTING, TWISTED WRECKS OF CONVOYS THAT WERE DESTROYED IN THE FIVE WARS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAST 25 YEARS IN THE SINAI. UNLESS THERE IS AN EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP OF THESE PASSES, THERE COULD BE A SIXTH WAR.

- 2. TOM FENTON (CBS RADIO-TEL AVIV): THE ATMOSPHERE HERE IS DISTINCTLY COOLER THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO WHEN KISSINGER CONCLUDED THE FIRST ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN AGREE-MENT. THERE IS GROWING DISILLUSIONMENT HERE WITH KISSINGER'S STYLE OF DIPLOMACY. MUCH OF THE NEWSPAPER COMMENT ON KISSINGER'S NEW EFFORT IS FRANKLY HOSTILE. THE MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY HAS CALLED FOR NEW ELECTIONS ARGUING THAT RABIN'S GOVERNMENT HAS NO RIGHT TO GIVE AWAY CAPTURED TERRITORY WITHOUT FIRST CONSULTING THE VOTERS. THE OPPOSITION LIKUD PARTY OFTEN CHARGED THAT KISSINGER WAS HOLDING UP NEGOTIATIONS ON FOREIGN AID IN AN EFFORT TO PRESSURE ISRAEL INTO MAKING CONCESSIONS TO EGYPT. GIVEN THIS CLIMATE OF PUBLIC OPINION. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE GOVERNMENT SEEMS TO BE TAKING A FIRM LINE THIS TIME IN THIS NEW ROUND OF TALKS WITH KISSINGER.
- 3. BRUNO WASSERTHIEL (CBS RADIO-TEL AVIV): KISSINGER BEGAN HIS DAY EARLY WITH A PRIVATE, HOUR-LONG CHAT WITH RABIN OVER BREAKFAST FOLLOWED BY THREE HOURS OF DELIBERATIONS WITH THE AMERICAN AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAMS AT THE PM'S OFFICE. KISSINGER HAD NO COMMENT, SAVE TO SAY THAT THE TALKS WERE VERY FRIENDLY. HE CONTINUED TO SOUND OUT TOP ISRAELI OFFICIALS AT A LUNCH TENDERED BY RABIN AND THEN RETURNED TO ANOTHER SESSION WITH THE NEGOTIATING TEAM. THE DISCUSSIONS APPEAR TO BE PRETTY UNCLASSIFIED

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LOW-KEYED AT THIS STAGE WITH THE TALK REVOLVING MORE
AROUND GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAN THE DRAWING OF MAPS OR
PLOTTING SPECIFIC POINTS OF A NEW INTERIM DEAL. THE
ISRAELIS APPARENTLY FEEL THEY HAVE MADE ENOUGH OPENLY
DECLARED CONCESSIONS TO CAIRO IN THE FORM OF PROMISES
OF FURTHER WITHDRAWALS IN THE SINAI AND BELIEVE THE
NEXT MOVE IS UP TO EGYPT. KISSINGER FLIES TO CAIRO
TOMORROW TO GET EGYPT'S RESPONSE TO THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL
AND WILL BE BACK HERE THURSDAY FOR WHAT WILL MOST CERTAINLY
BE THE MOST DECISIVE PART OF HIS LATEST ME MISSION.
4. KALB (CBS RADIO FROM ISRAEL): THE WORLD TONIGHT:

KISSINGER ASSURED THE ISRAELIS TONIGHT THAT THE U.S. WOULD

NEVER KNOWINGLY SACRIFICE ISRAEL TO WHAT HE CALLED "THE CONCERNS OF GREAT POWER POLITICS," NOR DOES THE UNITED STATES, HE SAID, CONSIDER ISRAEL TO BE A PAWN IN A GREAT POWER STRUGGLE. THUS, THE SECRETARY, COMPLETING THIS ROUND OF TALKS, STRUCK RIGHT AT THE THEME BOTHERING MANY ISRAELIS THAT SOMEHOW OR ANOTHER THE UNITED STATES WOULD SACRIFICE ISRAEL OR SELL HER OUT IN ITS PRESUMED OUEST FOR A BIG POWER DETENTE OR ITS NEED FOR OIL.

KISSINGER HAD SEVEN AND ONE-HALF HOURS OF TALKS TODAY WITH ISRAELI LEADERS LED BY PM RABIN, REVIEWING IN DEPTH THE ISRAELI POSITION ON ANOTHER POSSIBLE SINAI AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT. TOMORROW ;HE SECRETARY IS OFF TO CAIRO; HE RETURNS TO ISRAEL ON THURSDAY EVENING WITH THE RESULTS OF HIS CURRENT EFFORTS.

TV EVENING REPORTS:

1. ABC (KOPPEL): AS KISSINGER'S LIMOUSINE SHUTTLED BETWEEN HIS HOTEL AND A SERIES OF TALKS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS, THE NEWSMEN ACCOMPNYING THE SECRETAY WERE FLOWN BY ISRAELI HELICOPTER OUT INO THE SINAI DESERT OR A FIRST-HAND LOOK AT THOSE STRATEGIC MOUNTAIN PASSES, MITLA AND GIDI, THAT EGYPT WANTS BACK. THE ISRAELIS WANT TO BE SURE THAT EVERYONE, AT LEAST IN AMERICA, UNDERSTANDS THE CRITICAL VALUE OF THOSE PASSES IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER EGYPTIAN INVASION. IF THEY WANTED TO PERSONIFY THE UNCLASSIFIED

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RELUCTANCE OF ISRAEL'S ARMY TO GIVE UP THE PASSES, THEY COULDN'T HAVE PICKED A MORE ENTHUSIASTIC ADVOCATE THAN BRIG. GENERAL Y. EVAN.

EVAN: THIS LINE, OR THIS MOUNTAIN, IN SINAI, ARE THE BEST ONES FOR THE COUNTRY (INAUDIBLE). WITH (INAUDIBLE) FORCES, WE CAN CONDUCT A VERY GOOD DEFENSIVE OPERATION WITHOUT PUTTING THE WHOLE ARMY IN THIS AREA.

KOPPEL: THE ISRAELIS HAVE ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT IN THESE MOUNTAINS, WHICH WOULD SERVE AS AN EARLY WARNING DEVICE AGAINST EGYPTIAN ATTACK. BUT EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THE PASSES CAN BE HELD BY THE REGULAR ARMY ALONE; MOVING TO POSITIONS BEYOND THE PASSES WOULD REQUIRE THE MOBILIZATION OF ISRAELI RESERVES.

THIS IS THE SECOND TIME IN A WEEK THE ISRAELIS HAVE BROUGHT FOREIGN NEWSMEN TO THE MITLA PASS, THE SECOND TIME IN A WEEK THAT THEY HAVE UNDERSCORED THE STRATEGIC VALUE OF THIS PASS AND THE THREE OTHERS IN THE AREA. BUT THAT DOES NOT NECESSARILY SIGNAL ISRAELI REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE

THESE STRATEGIC PASSES AWAY. THE EMPHASIS IS ON WHAT THEY WILL HAVE TO GET IN EXCHANGE.

BACK IN JERUSALEM, THAT WAS WHAT KISSINGER WAS TRYING TO DETERMINE TODAY: ISRAEL'S PRICE FOR THE PASSES, WHICH IS WHAT HE WILL CARRY WITH HIM TO CAIRO TOMORROW.

2. CBS (KALB): TO MAKE ITS CASE THAT MILITARILY THESE PASSES ARE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HELICOPTERED MANY OF THE REPORTERS WHO ARE COVERING THIS KISSINGER TRIP TO A MOUNTAIN PEAK AT THE WESTERN END OF THE MITLA PASS, LOOKING DOWN AT THE SUEZ CANAL AND EGYPT JUST BEYOND. THE MESSAGE WAS CONVEYED BY A 40-YEAR OLD BRIG. GENERAL, Y. EVAN. THE GENERAL HAD A POINTER, A LARGE MAP WITH STRATEGIC POINTS MARKED IN ENGLISH, AND A MILITARY EXPLANATION FOR NOT GIVING UP THE PASSES. IN THE LAST YEAR OR SO, THE ISRAELIS HAVE SPENT MORE THAN \$250 MILLION FORTIFYING A NEW LINE OF DEFENSE, INCLUDING THE MITLA PASS AND THE GIDI PASS TO UNCLASSIFIED

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THE NORTH.

DURING KISSINGER'S TALKS IN JERUSALEM WITH PM RABIN AND OTHER ISRAELI LEADERS, SEVEN AND A HALF HOURS OF TALKS, THE SECRETARY EXAMINED EVERY ELEMENT OF A POSSIBLE AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT, ESPECIALLY THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE SINAI PASSES AND THE ABU RUDEIS OILFIELDS. RABIN EXPLAINED HIS DESIRE TO END THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, TO TURN A NEW LEAF FROM WAR TO PEACE. KISSINGER, WHO LEAVES FOR EGYPT TOMORROW, IS NOT SURE PRESIDENT SADAT IS READY TO GO THAT FAR, BUT HE IS CONFIDENT THAT SADAT WANTS A DEAL. THE SECRETARY, AT A DINNER TONIGHT, SUMMARIZED THE RESULTS: "WE WILL NOT

KNOWINGLY SACRIFICE ISRAEL TO THE CONSIDERATIONS OF GREAT POWER POLITICS."

3. NBC (VALERIANI): KISSINGER BEGAN A LONG DAY OF MEETINGS AT A PRIVATE BREAKFAST WITH PM RABIN. WITH JUST THE TWO OF THEM PRESENT, THE CONVERSATION WAS A LITTLE MORE FREE-WHEELING THAN IN THE LARGER, MORE FORMAL SESSIONS WHICH FOLLOWED. KISSINGER SPENT MORE THAN SEVEN HOURS WITH THE ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAM. AFTERWARD, SPOKESMEN FOR BOTH SIDES SAID HE NOW HAD A CLEAR VIEW OF THE ISRAELI POSITION, WHICH HE WILL TAKE TO EGYPT TOMORROW. KISSINGER HIMSELF HAD THIS TO SAY:

HAK: "I'LL MAKE NO ATTEMPT AT THIS STAGE TO ENGAGE IN ACTUAL NEGOTIATION -- AT THIS STAGE I'M TRYING TO GET

A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF ALL THE NUANCES OF EACH SIDE'S

POSITION."

QUESTION: ARE YOU OPTIMISTIC OF GETTING AN UNDERSTANDING?

HAK: "I WOULDN'T BE HERE IF I DIDN'T THINK THAT A SOLUTION WAS POSSIBLE."

VALERIANI: WHILE KISSINGER WAS DISCUSSING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS IN JERUSALEM, THE AMERICAN NEWSMEN TRAVELING WITH HIM WERE BROUGHT HERE TO THE MITLA PASS, UNCLASSIFIED

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TO SEE FIRST-HAND ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENTS N THOSE NE;OTIATIONS. AN ISRAELI 'RIGADIER YENERAL EXPLAINED THE STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SINAI MOUNTAIN PASSES, WHICH ARE MORE THAN 100 MILES FROM ISRAEL'S 1967 BORDER. BY CONTROLLING THESE PASSES, THE ISRAELI ARMY NEEDS TO MAINTAIN ONLY A SMALL FORCE HERE TO GUARD AGAINST AN EGYPTIAN ATTACK ACROSS THE DESERT. EGYPT IS DEMANDING THE RETURN OF THESE PASSES, PLUS THE PRODUCING OILFIELDS FARTHER SOUTH, IN THIS ROUND OF TALKS. IN RETURN, ISRAEL IS INSISTING ON A NUMBER OF POLITICAL CONCESSIONS, SUCH AS A COMMITTMENT FROM EGYPT NOT TO ATTACK ISRAEL, AND THAT'S WHAT KISSINGER WILL DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT SADAT IN CAIRO TOMORROW.

WIRES (SUMMARY)

- 1. UPI IN JERUSALEM DATELINER SAID AT OFFICIAL BANQUET HAK TUESDAY "PROMISED ISRAELI LEADERS THE JEWISH STATE WOULD; OT BE SACRIFICED IN ANY DISENGAGEMENT PACT WITH EGYPT IN THE INTERESTS OF SUPERPOWER POLITICS," AND THAT "WASHINGTON WAS NOT PUTTING ANY PRESSURE ON ISRAEL" TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT. EARLIER UPI JERUSALEM DATELINER QUOTED ALLON THAT TUESDAY'S TALKS WERE "VERY PRODUCTIVE."
- 2. AP LEAD AT MIDDAY WASHINGTON TIME SAID HAK, AFTER REVIEWING ISRAEL'S POSITION ON A FURTHER PARTIAL PEACE SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT TUESDAY, SAID HE BELIEVES "ANOTHER ACCORD IS POSSIBLE." AP ADDED LATER THAT HAK CALLED ANY SELL-OUT OF ISRAELI INTERESTS "UNIMAGINABLE." SAME

STORY HAD U.S- SOURCES SAYING ISRAELI RESOLVE IS HARDENING AND THAT HAK ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE. STORY SAID HAK "RULED OUT IDEA THAT ISRAEL GIVE UP GROUND IN THE SINAI WITHOUT SUSBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS." IT QUOTED ALLON (AT TUESDAY DINNER) THAT U.S. RELATIONS HAD REACHED "NEW PEAKS" WITH HAK AS SECSTATE, "BUT THIS DOESN'T MEAN WE HAVE TO AGREE WITH HIM ON EVERY POINT." AP STORY

ADDED THAT, ALTHOUGH SPOKESMEN ON BOTH SIDES INSISTED

TALKS WERE NOT A NEGOTIATING SESSION, IT WAS LEARNED THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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A MAP WAS KEPT NEARBY.

NEWSPAPERS (AFTERNOON)
DICK RESTON IN LATIMES LED WITH HAK MONDAY STATEMENT THAT
U.S. IS PREPARED TO EXPLORE OTHER MEANS AND FORUMS BEYOND
STEP-BY-STEP PLAN. RESTON SAID SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL
ON PLANE TO JERUSALEM EXPLAINED THIS PHASE OF CURRENT ME
NEGOTIATIONS "WILL TAKE PLACE IN TWO STAGES." SAME
OFFICIAL, WROTE RESTON, BELIEVES ISRAEL IS ALREADY

POSITIONING ITSELF FOR NEW DISENGAGEMENT ATTEMPT BY "JUSTIFYING SUCH A STEP WITHIN A FRAGMENTED PARLIAMENT AND BY PREPARING PUBLIC OPINION." RESTON QUOTED "ONE U.S. OFFICIAL" AS SAYING #THERE'S CLEARLY GOT TO BE A QUID PRO QUO FOR BOTH SIDES," AND THAT THE NEW KISSINGER MISSION BEGAN IN ISRAEL THIS TIME LARGELY AT THE URGING OF ALLON.

END COMBINED REPORT. INGERSOLL

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